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JPRS 81612

24 August 1982

# USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1296

19980914 074

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## INTERNATIONAL

### SHARPENING OF SOCIAL CONFLICTS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES SEEN

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 82 (signed to press 21 Jun 82) pp 149-152

[Unattributed report on paper "Main Trends in the Social and Internal Political Development of Developed Capitalist Countries," delivered by G. Diligenskiy, doctor of historical sciences, department chief at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics and World International Relations, and on discussion of the paper, at 10 March 1982 meeting of the Social Sciences Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium]

[Excerpts] Having characterized the economic and social development of the capitalist countries during the past decade, Diligenskiy noted that growing economic instability and the social instability it engenders have become the determining features in the processes taking place in the capitalist world. Overcoming the instability is the central problem now facing ruling circles in bourgeois society. Today's sociopolitical situation in the developed capitalist world is distinguished by a significantly greater diversity than during the Seventies,, and by a "multiple directionality" characterizing its trends, and a growing differentiation in the internal political courses of the ruling classes. It is precisely in the early Eighties that the main features of the rightist-conservative trend has been quite clearly formulated in the policy of countries with a developed state monopoly capitalism. It has been most consistently and most extremely expressed in the course of the R. Reagan administration in the United States and of the Conservative government in Great Britain, but elements of it are also seen in the policies of a number of other capitalist countries. In the opinion of G. Diligenskiy, one of the prerequisites for the formation of this trend has been the profound disillusionment of the masses in the ability of state control set up in the previous decade, and in bourgeois-liberal and social-democrat reformism. The crisis situation has reinforced the desire for the economic and social status quo, a fear of change, and individual and corporate arrangements both within the middle strata and to some extent among the working class also.

The further evolution of sociopolitical processes in the capitalist world, G. Diligenskiy said in conclusion, depends largely on the nature of economic development. But in his opinion, in the short- and medium-term future (the mid to late Eighties) the exacerbation of social contradictions is inevitable. One relatively new and increasingly significant component of this process is the expansion of the so-called marginal strata, primarily the unemployed or people not having permanent work, particularly young people.

The deepening of the entire aggregate of present crisis processes should lead to the expansion of mass opposition to the policy of the ruling class. It will be more difficult for ruling circles to implement their own tactic of splitting the workers. In such a situation the following are possible: 1) an upsurge in the mass movement for radical change in the political course, and some degree of other of involvement by leftist forces, including social democratic parties, with the prospects for the spread of the "French model" to other countries; 2) the reinforcement of rightist-authoritarian trends by the ruling class right up to attempts to establish fascist-type regimes. Whatever the variant in the economic development in most of the developed capitalist countries there will be increased confrontation between the different political trends and the establishment of relative sociopolitical stability is hardly possible.

One very important issue confronting consistently democratic and peace-loving forces under these conditions is the merging of all antimonopoly trends and tendencies into a single stream and the formation of a realistic political alternative to reaction and militarism. In the final analysis, prospects for the sociopolitical development of the capitalist countries depends precisely on solving this problem. In its resolution, enormous significance attaches to the peace-loving foreign policy of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community--one of the most important factors in weakening and isolating the rightist-conservative and aggressive forces of imperialism.

Academician N. Inozemtsev, corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences I. Grigulevich and Ye. Kapustin, doctors of historical sciences A. Galkin and G. Chernikov and doctor of philosophical sciences V. Mshveniyeradze participated in the discussion of the paper. They stressed the topicality of the problem and noted the largely new economic and sociopolitical situation that developed in the late Seventies and early Eighties in the industrially developed capitalist countries, the influence of real socialism on processes within the working movement in these countries and the interconnection between domestic and foreign policy trends in the development of the capitalist world. In particular it was noted that the propaganda apparatus of the U.S. monopolies is exploiting the mood of fear and uncertainty in the future that has become widespread among some bourgeois and petty bourgeois strata inside the United States, in order to insure support for Washington's conservative course in its domestic policy and its line aimed at exacerbating the international situation.

Summing up the discussion academician P. Fedoseyev pointed out that that Soviet social scientists must deepen their research on those shifts, processes and trends in the domestic life of the industrially developed capitalist countries that lie at the basis of the accelerating polarization of class forces in recent years and the exacerbation of the contradictions between them and the growth of aggressive imperialism. Priority themes can be delineated in the comprehensive study of the status of and prospects for development in these countries. They include the reasons for the shift to the right by a significant part of the ruling classes in imperialist states and the interconnection between domestic and international factors in the sociopolitical development of the countries of developed capitalism. Special attention should be given to the problem of strengthening cooperation between all antiimperialist forces and achieving the unity of all workers' organizations, which make up the nucleus and the strike force of the antimonopoly movement.

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## INTERNATIONAL

### AFGHAN CHILDREN IN TURKMENIA

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian of 29 Jul 82 publishes on page 4 a TURKMENINFORM report entitled "Friendship Reigns in 'Friendship'" and datelined Ashkhabad, 27 July, which reports that "a large group of children from various provinces and cities of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan" have just arrived for a stay in the Friendship Pioneer Camp in Firyuza, where they will stay together with Soviet children. Zakir Korgan, leader of the group and head of the sports department of the DRA Central Trade Union [as published], is quoted as saying that the children will spend 30 days in the camp.

CSO: 1807/140-P

NATIONAL

BAGRAMOV ATTACKS WESTERN CRITICS OF SOVIET NATIONALITY POLICY

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 17 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by E. Bagramov, doctor of philosophic sciences, professor: "Relations Among Nationalities in the USSR and Bourgeois Falsifiers"]

[Excerpts] The successful construction of socialism and communism has refuted the assertions of the ideologues of anti-communism that supposedly national egotism or great-power chauvinism is the motive power of international relations regardless of the system of society--capitalist or socialist. Socialism has found a powerful antidote to that very virus of nationalism which, according to bourgeois scientists, is supposedly spreading with an uncontrollable virulence throughout the world. The mighty union of the nations of the USSR has withstood the test, and primarily the trials by fire during the last war. Those who had counted on the disintegration of that union were dissuaded by the unshakable strength of the brotherhood of nations engendered by socialism.

The foes of socialism, who have never stopped maligning the Soviet policy toward nationalities, found themselves in a difficult situation. Hard as it may be, they must admit the tremendous progress achieved by the nations of the USSR under socialism. The book by the English professor A. Kobben [name transliterated] "The National State and National Self-Determination," observes: "The Soviet Union is not the Habsburg Empire with its comparatively wealthy industrial and financial center existing in a striking contrast with dismayingly poor agricultural provinces. Gigantic economic progress has been accomplished on the areas of the national minorities and in their sight. If, in the final analysis, the Soviet Union has demonstrated that it has successfully solved the problem of uniting the most varied nationalities into a single great federation, its success is largely due to the steps that it had undertaken from the very beginning to include its nations in the orbit of a broad industrial development and eliminate sources of economic inequality and exploitation."

The viability of the Soviet system of society no longer comes into question now. Our experience in building statehood, in the free self-determination and development of nations, as well as in streamlining the fraternal cooperation of large and small nations that in the past had been divided by deep contradictions, and implementing a cultural revolution that caused national and ethnic groups to join in the forefront of civilization instead of being doomed to slow extinction--all this a precious achievement of socialism that is of world-historical importance.

Nevertheless, reactionary Western sociologists and politicians refuse to admit the fact that the nationality problem has been solved precisely in the USSR, for the first time in history and on the basis of the great achievements of socialism--the very same problem before which stand powerless the countries that boast of their democracy--the capitalist countries of West Europe and North America such as the United States and Great Britain, Canada, and Belgium, in which nationality conflicts continue. The ideologues of anti-communism shiver at the very thought that the Soviet example is becoming increasingly attractive on various continents, especially in the developing countries that broke the chains of centuries-long oppression and are resolutely determined to decide their own future independently.

Referring to the fact of the exacerbation of international conflicts in the non-socialist world, state that it applies equally to the relations among the nations of the USSR. They stubbornly assert that the establishment of socialism on vast areas of the terrestrial globe has supposedly contributed nothing new to national relations.

The edge of bourgeois propaganda is directed against the growing unity of the Soviet nation, against the noble process of the rapprochement of nationalities. Unfolding their struggle against the theory and practice of the socialist solution of the nationality problem, the foes of communism resort, as a rule, to the following "traditional" theses: socialism has supposedly not endowed the nationalities with true self-determination but has instead united them by duress into a single state; the uplifting of the nationalities has been done at the expense of national traditions; the course toward the rapprochement of nationalities practiced by the Communist party is supposedly contrary to the national strivings of the nationalities.

1386

CSO: 1800/968

NATIONAL

#### CONFERENCE ON REVOLUTIONARY ROLE OF INTELLIGENTSIA HELD

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 82 (signed to press 21 Jun 82) pp 189-193

[Report by T. Kuz'mina and V. Miller, candidates of historical sciences, USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on the comprehensive problem "The History of the Great October Socialist Revolution": "The Intelligentsia and the Revolution"]

[Excerpts] A conference on the theme "The Intelligentsia and Revolution. The 20th Century" took place 16-19 November 1981 in Tbilisi. It was organized by the USSR Academy of Sciences scientific councils on the comprehensive problems "The History of the Great October Socialist Revolution" and "The History of the Building of Socialism and Communism in the USSR" and their sections in the Georgian SSR, and also by the institutes of the history of the USSR, the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Slavic Studies and Balkanology and the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History, Archeology and Ethnography imeni I.A. Dzhavakhishvili, jointly with the problem commission on multilateral cooperation with the academies of sciences in the socialist countries "History of the Great October and Subsequent Socialist Revolutions." About 200 Soviet historians, philosophers and sociologists and their colleagues from Bulgaria, the GDR, Mongolia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan participated in the work of the conference.

At the plenary session the main report, "The October Revolution and the Intelligentsia" was presented by the chairman of the first of the above-named scientific councils and chairman of the problem commission, academician I. Mints. He distinguished three aspects of the theme: the international significance of Lenin's teaching on the intelligentsia, the topicality of the historical experience in the work of the Bolsheviks with the intelligentsia, and the features of the present ideological struggle on these questions.

Dzh. Kargar (Afghanistan) talked about the participation of the Afghan intelligentsia in the April 1978 revolution and subsequent revolutionary transformations. At the present stage the country's intelligentsia is carrying out much ideological work in the struggle to liquidate illiteracy and other social transformations, and with weapons in hand is fighting against counterrevolution. During the course of the class struggle a progressive, patriotic intelligentsia has been established.

Other conference work took place in four sections: "The Intelligentsia in Bourgeois-Democratic Revolutions in Russia," "The Intelligentsia and the Great October,"

"The Intelligentsia during the Civil War and the Period of the Building of Socialism" and "The Intelligentsia in Revolutions the Forties through the Sixties."

In the first section questions of the place, role and composition of the intelligentsia during the period of bourgeois-democratic revolutions in Russia and of its evolution and delimitations, its participation in the revolutionary movement early in the 20th century and so forth were examined. Much attention was given to the student movement. Problems of the ideological orientation of the intelligentsia were discussed. It was noted that individual researchers assume their political stance depending on their social adjunctum, material situation, place on the professional ladder, qualifications and profession and so forth. This oversimplified viewpoint was subject to criticism. Those participating in the meeting supported the conclusion that political division in the medium of the prerevolutionary intelligentsia took place not between different social and professional groups but within each group.

Of late in the capitalist West attempts have been observed to criticize the revolutionary movement in Russia in the early 20th century from "VEKHI" positions. ["VEKHI" was a liberal anthology published in 1909--ed]. The ideas of Struve, Berdyayev, Izgoyev and Novgorodtsev that the revolution was the result of the "delusion" of the intelligentsia and the revolution was "useless" are being included in the arsenal of present-day anticommunism. In this connection there was great interest in statements made in the section (V. Loginov, V. Durnovtsev and others) containing an analysis of the leninist assessment of the "VEKHI" anthology, and criticism of the falsifiers of the history of the Russian intelligentsia who contributed to VEKHI, and of the interpretation of the very category of "intelligentsia" by the the VEKHI liberal-bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologists.

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CSO: 1800/990



## NATIONAL

### SOVIET CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION MEETING

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI in Russian No 4, Jul-Aug 82 (signed to press 21 Jun 82) pp 181-186

[Review by V. Smirnov, candidate of juridical sciences, scientific secretary of the Soviet Political Science Association: "A New International Order, Society and Political Community, Political Thought"]

[Excerpts] In August 1982 the 12th Congress of the International Political Science Association [IPSA] is taking place in Rio de Janeiro. The problems of the main themes of the congress (set as the headline of this review) indicate its succession with the previous IPSA forum that took place in Moscow (1979) and the many key \* problems of the age that were discussed in a businesslike and frank atmosphere.

Soviet scientists have prepared about 100 reports for the congress, a considerable number of which are being published by the editorial office of the USSR Academy of Sciences as "The Social Sciences and the Age" in three anthologies (in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French). A selection of reports by Soviet participants of the congress is included in the third foreign-language edition of the USSR Academy of Sciences social sciences quarterly for 1982 ("Social Sciences" and so forth). The regular edition of the Soviet Social Sciences Association Year Book is devoted mainly to the congress.

The anthology "International Relations: Trends and Prospects" is opened by a report by academician P. Fedoseyev entitled "Scientists in the Struggle for Peace." "In our time," the author points out, "the greatest danger for historical progress and for the fate of mankind is the wasteful arms race and the threat of thermonuclear war, on which the most reactionary forces of imperialism are banking. The struggle against those who instigate war and the arms race is an essential condition for the survival and development of world civilization and of mankind itself. In such a situation the role of science and of each scientist cannot be assessed merely from the standpoint of successes in gaining knowledge about the world that surrounds us. Scientists bear a responsibility not only to world science but also to mankind for the use of scientific achievements for the good of the peoples."

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\* see OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI No 2, 1980 pp 184-193



G. Shakhnazarov ("Peace and the Urgent Needs of Mankind") analyzes global problems such as peace, population and resources (life support), closing the gap between the economically developed countries and the poorly developed countries and environmental protection, and he substantiates the assignment of the problem of protecting the "spiritual medium" as a global problem. In the author's opinion, the above problems can be fully resolved only by socialist methods and in the broad historical perspective. But the process of their resolution can and must be started already today. The main condition here is strengthening peace and developing active international cooperation.

F. Burlatskiy analyzes the principles and conditions of the new system of international relations called "the universal planned world" ("Modeling International Relations: Principles and Prerequisites"). The author understands by this system the kind of international situation in which goal-oriented measures are implemented that lead not only to a relaxation of tension but also to a curtailment of the arms race, staged disarmament and, in the final analysis, the elimination of world wars and a guaranteed general peace. Obstacles on this road include the concepts of the "permissibility" and "acceptability" of nuclear war being strongly propagandized by certain U.S. state figures.

A critical analysis of these concepts is given by V. Zhurkin ("Concepts of Nuclear War and its Prevention"). The author stresses that the catastrophic consequences of nuclear war, which in practice it would be impossible to limit to the continent of Europe (something that U.S. military strategists dream about) make these theories extremely dangerous. The Soviet Union acts as a principled opponent not only of nuclear war itself but also of any theoretical constructs that justify the development and use of nuclear weapons.

The report of P. Podlesnyy ("A 'Code of Behavior' for States in the Nuclear Age") is devoted to the actual and standard behavior of modern states. The UN Charter, the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and a whole series of other international documents contain the fundamental principles for this behavior. Their observance insures that the interests of individual countries and peoples and of the world community as a whole are taken into account. However, in an age of rapid development and buildup of new and increasingly destructive means of mass destruction definite additions to the "Code of Behavior" for states are essential, and the most important of these is its undeviating observance by all members of the world society.

G. Trofimenko ("The Soviet Union and Disarmament") shows with the use of a broad range of factual material the USSR's unchanging aspiration throughout the entire period of its existence to limit and curtail armaments and to achieve disarmament on the basis of the equal security of the sides. The author concludes that the principle of one-sided superiority, on which the United States is banking, is an illusion and dangerous.

In a report entitled "Conflicts in Africa: Possibilities of Escalation and Ways To Settle Them," corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences An. Gromyko emphasizes that in assessing and characterizing any given conflict between African states, their sociopolitical nature, the aims and strategies of the conflicting parties and their international political links are of decisive significance. The author makes a comparative analysis of the positions of socialist and Western powers with respect to inter-African conflicts.

In a report entitled "International Terrorism: Criteria of Criminality," V. Lazarev considers terrorism as an international crime, regardless of the motives used as a refuge. Specific and decisive action is needed to cut short violence. Before the adoption of an international convention on dealing with international terrorism the author suggests that a careful analysis is required of every case, and a clarification of to what extent the standards of humanitarianism, laws and the customs of war are observed, and of what exactly the object of the encroachment is and what the aims of the subject of the violence are.

A combination of the historical and actual analytical approaches in the report of A. Chubar'yan "The Evolution of 'the European Idea'" enables the author to analyze from a new viewpoint questions of the political, economic and military interaction of states belonging to the different social systems and to compare the situation in Europe with the position in other regions of the world.

The collection also contains the following reports: G. Vorontsov, "Detente and Lowering the Level of Tension in Europe"; V. Gantman, "International Conflicts and the Balance of Power"; O. Rusakov, "Questions of Collective Security"; A. Goryachev, "Problems of Change in Political Studies."

Reports by Soviet scientists on the second main theme of the congress are presented in the collection "Democracy and Politics."

Corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ye. Chekharin ("Questions of the Development of the Soviet Society and State") stresses that changes in the social-class structure in the USSR have led to a substantial approximation of all classes and social groups in the socioeconomic, political and cultural spheres, and in the state sphere to the appearance of a state of all the people.

The subject of V. Shevtsov's report is "Interaction Between Society and the State Under the Conditions of Socialism." He shows that during the course of the movement toward the stateless communist formation, public initiatives in state control are reinforced. In turn, society's progress is accelerated thanks to the use of state institutions.

R. Yanovskiy delineates the distinguishing features of Soviet society. One of them is combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, as a result of which there is further improvement in democracy and the political system and a marked growth in the role of science and of the individual scientist in the life of the society. The author reveals the content of the present stage in the development of Soviet science and technology and the role of the CPSU in accelerating this process.

During the course of the emergence, establishment and development of the Soviet political system, mutual relations between the more than 100 nationalities, nationalities and ethnic groups living on the territory of the USSR have been and remain a decisive factor. The national-state structure of the Soviet Union insures equal rights and opportunities for all its peoples. This thesis is developed in the reports of A. Ishanvov, "Processes of Integration and Differentiation in Establishing National Statehood," and S. Radzhabov, "Rights of the Soviet National Republics in the Political System of Socialist Federation."

The collection includes work covering an extensive range of theoretical and practical problems: V. Smirnov's "Active and Passive Participants in the Political Process," B. Babi'y's and V. Zabigaylo's "Democratism in Social Control in the Developed Socialist Society," V. Chirkin's "Authoritarian Regimes in the Developing Countries: Social Indicators of 'Strength' and Weakness'," V. Makarenko's "The Leninist Methodology for Analyzing Bureaucracy and the Political Elite in a Class-Antagonist Society," V. Chkhikvadze's "Legal Regulation of Citizenship," N. Maslov's "The Women's Movement in the USSR: Factors of Socialization," and S. Zivs' "Human Rights--Universality, Dynamism and the Institute of Citizenship."

The third collection prepared by Soviet scientists for the Rio de Janeiro congress is ""The Political Sciences: Research Methodology."

The book opens with a report by V. Mshveniyeradze, "Critical Studies of Bourgeois Political Thought." The author notes that in Western political science works are appearing with increasing frequency that go beyond the framework of the scientific orientation and address problems that for a long time were considered "nonscientific." However, the theoretical resolution of these problems remains within the limits of partial modifications to and the lines of idealistic thinking. On the other hand, a trend is observed toward creating global "nomothetic" theories to reveal the general patterns of the political process. Political scientists are attempting to transform the conglomerate of interdisciplinary methods and systems of rules into a sort of universal science on politics and man. This "new" trend is in fact a return to earlier philosophical-idealistic sources.

Having considered various versions of value, pragmatic and positivist approaches to cognition of truth, M. Rutkevich ("The Problem of Truth in the Sphere of Political Consciousness") reveals their inadequacy and unsoundness. Only social practice with its unity and the struggle against opposites, that is, classes and other subjects of political action, can serve as a criterion for truth, the author concludes.

V. Semenov ("The Bases, Structure and Role of Political Ideas and Symbols") and I. Kravchenko ("Design and Utopia in Sociopolitical Theory") define the specific nature of the functioning of ideas, symbols and myths in various periods of mankind's history in various types of societies, cultures and social strata. The authors point out that contemporary political theory and practice cannot be understood outside these structural elements of political consciousness.

E. Batalov ("The Study of the Structure of Political Consciousness") examines this consciousness as a nonuniform, internal, contradictory multiple-level formation. From the sociological viewpoint political consciousness acts as a social-class and at the same time a national, ethnic, regional and group phenomenon. On the logic-gnosiologic plane, empirical, theoretical, scientific, sociopsychological and other levels are distinguished. The author also pays attention to the dynamics and the construction of models of political consciousness.

In addition to the foregoing, the collection also contains the following work: A. Kovler's "Methodology for Investigating Political Participation," V. Petrov's "Logic Semantics and the Language of Politics," Yu. Baturin's "Political Information and Its Perception," and V. Nersisyan's "Comparative Analysis of Political Ideas."

The Soviet organizing committee and the Soviet Political Science Association are coordinating preparatory work for the 12th IPSA Congress closely with the political science associations in the socialist countries. In accordance with the coordination plan, international meetings have been held on questions of the social medium and the behavior of citizens in major cities (Prague, March 1982), and Marxist methodology in studying the problems of peace and social progress (Moscow, May 1982) within the framework of a meeting of the IPSA "Marxist Political Thought" investigatory group.

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## REGIONAL

### BOOKS ON AGRO-INDUSTRIAL INTEGRATION REVIEWED

Riga KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII in Russian No 5, May 82 pp 101-104

[Review by B. Trey, doctor of economic sciences, of books: "Mezhkhozyaystvennaya kooperatsiya i agropromyshlennaya integratsiya" [Inter-Farm Cooperation and Agro-Industrial Integration] edited by A. A. Kalnyn'sh, Zinatne Press, Riga, 1979, 301 pages, in Russian; "Agrarno-promyshlennyy kompleks. Sovershestvovaniye upravleniya" [The Agrarian-Industrial Complex: Improvements in Management, responsible editor A. A. Kalnyn'sh, Zinatne Press, Riga, 1981, 151 pages, in Russian; "Experiences Gained by the Rayon Agroindustrial Association," Avots, Riga, 1981, 207 pages, in Latvian]

[Text] A complex and multifaceted process of the development of productive forces and production relations is currently under way in our socialist agriculture. And it is the duty of every scientist-agrarian to perceive these processes in the bud, investigate them attentively, uncover their socio-economic nature, and analyze their development prospects. This work is being done consistently and purposively by the co-workers of the Institute of Economics, Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, who develop the theory of the processes of specialization, co-production, and integration of the republic's agricultural production. When in 1976 the 25th CPSU Congress sounded the clarion call for further improvements in the specialization and concentration of agricultural production on the basis of inter-farm cooperation and the establishment of agro-industrial associations, the institute's staff were able to respond immediately by publishing the monograph "Rayon Agrarian-Industrial Associations" (Riga: Zinatne, 1976, 177 pages), which describes the experience in planning the Talsinskiy Rayon Agrarian-Industrial Association established in July 1976 pursuant to the decision of the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers and subsequently known as the Talsinskoye RAPO. In 1979, following the completion of the Talsinskiy experimnt, another rayon agrarian-industrial association [RAPO] was set up in Valmiyerskiy Rayon. In 1980 RAPOs were established in 4 more rayons; in 1981, in 12; and in 1982, in the remaining rayons of the republic. The whole of this tremendous organizing work was conducted under the direct methodological guidance of the staff of the Institute of Economics, Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences. In the last 3 years there appeared three more monographs on aspects of agrarian-industrial integration, and the Institute of Economics in this republic became recognized as the national center for research into problems of agrarian-industrial integration.

Above all, the monographs lucidly analyze the principal advantages of RAPO to the further specialization and concentration of agricultural production, since this organizational form combines in itself the advantages of territorial and branch forms. These advantages are highly competently elucidated by the authors on providing specific examples from all branches of agriculture, primarily from the entire Talsinskiy Rayon.

By way of an example, let me cite the approach to the specialization of the production of a crop like the potato. Inasmuch as in Talsinskiy Rayon only 45 percent of the cropland is suitable for the mechanized cultivation of this crop, the institute staff abandoned the idea of concentrating most of potato production on several farms. All farms in the rayon continue to engage in potato growing, specializing in the production of different varieties of this crop depending on their purpose: for feeding cattle; for industrial processing at the Talsinskiy Affiliate of the Latvijas Balzams company (potatoes with high starch content); or for producing high-grade small-sized seed material for farms in not just Talsinskiy Rayon but the entire Courland zone.

All these and many other proposals and projects which are becoming feasible owing to the establishment of RAPOs are indisputably of great practical importance to raising potato yields, reducing the labor intensiveness of this crop, and reducing as well the huge losses that we are currently sustaining owing to shortcomings in the transport, storage, and processing of this important crop.

The books reviewed here also analyze the considerable potential for the specialization and concentration of animal husbandry inherent in RAPOs. Methods have been developed for planning the geographical distribution of various branches of animal husbandry and determining rational connections among the farms breeding livestock and producing milk, beef, and pork. Thus, concerning the organization of the fattening of young horned cattle, the monograph provides a chart of its territorial distribution and a schematic representation of the connections among the rayon's farms cooperating in this respect. Basically, two types of fattening farms are recommended: one, large fattening enterprises attached to sugar factories, starch-and-alcohol factories, and other plants utilizing agricultural raw materials (with the object of eliminating shipments of industrial wastes); and the other, medium-sized fattening complexes (accommodating 1,000 to 5,000 head) based on the existing modernized or adapted animal-husbandry premises, since they do not require large capital outlays.

Of major interest also is the scheme for converting pork production in Talsinskoye RAPO to an industrialized basis, which provides for the further concentration of pork production on three farms along with increasing the volume of that production more than twofold.

The works reviewed here also contain copious material on problems of RAPO management. The authors analyze the structure of the administrative apparatus, elucidate the role of the dispatcher service, the functions of the council, governing board, and discrete services of the RAPO. They correctly stress the idea that the administrative machinery of RAPO is of a kind in which administrative functions are combined with direct operative management of the production process itself. Another

positive feature of the administrative structure of RAPO is the combination of democratic collegiality in discussions and decisionmaking with one-man management of the implementation of the intended measures.

Since members of the RAPO council include representatives of all farms, organizations, and services of the rayon (the Talsinskoye RAPO council has 79 members), and decisions are taken by voting, the principal problems of the development of farm economies and social life in the rayon as a whole are resolved in a more balanced fashion. The positive aspects of this new form of administration were highly precisely formulated by A. E. Voss, first secretary of the Latvian CP Central Committee, in the interview he gave to a correspondent of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (No 1, 1 January 1982): "Under these conditions, unfair treatment of any farm is nearly precluded. Formerly, it used to be different: some kolkhoz chairmen, say, would enjoy special status in the eyes of rayon administrators or at the ministry and obtain greater allocations and better equipment--often at the expense of other kolkhozes. Nowadays such a situation is not possible. All decisions are made by the council--on the basis of analyses and calculations."

The authors of the monographs reviewed here note that the successful integration of the activities of individual elements of RAPO can occur only on the basis of common economic interest of all in increasing agricultural production and reducing its cost. To this end, the association should apply an appropriate economic [incentive] mechanism: aspects of constructing this mechanism are the subject of several chapters in the books reviewed here.

One proposed technique for creating such a mechanism is the introduction of intra-rayon accounting prices. These prices are based on the principle of equivalent exchange among the cooperating farms, in terms of not only--planned or normative--production cost but also so-called adjusted expenditures. Accounting prices also are determined with allowance for unit wage intensiveness and capital intensiveness of products. The experience in applying such prices in Talsinskoye RAPO has fully justified their expediency.

Within the republic, individual authors also proposed other principles for constructing accounting prices, but it seems to us that the experience of Talsinskoye RAPO has definite advantages. These prices allow for a more flexible consideration of the particular features of production on individual farms, thus dispensing with the need for dividing income among the cooperating farms at year end.

Another important example of the creation of a mechanism for providing common economic incentives is the establishment of centralized RAPO funds. The authors propose that these funds be utilized for three principal purposes: construction of large production facilities and cultural and consumer facilities; awarding of incentive bonuses to the administrative apparatus of RAPO depending on the results achieved; and equalization of the effect of various natural and economic conditions on the production performance of individual farms. The authors emphasize that the need for such centralized funds is currently also dictated by the fact that the profitability of particular types of production varies markedly, chiefly owing



to broad differences in price advantages. Under such conditions, it becomes necessary to equalize the incomes of discrete farms, some of which specialize in profitable types of production--for example, poultry raising--while others engage in production that is not advantageous from the standpoint of profitability.

As for the procedure for making contributions to the centralized funds, a complex multi-channel system was employed for this purpose in Talsinskiy Rayon in 1979 and, in the authors' opinion, it has to be markedly simplified. On correctly assuming that the payments by members of RAPO into the centralized fund should consist of two parts--proportional-share participation in capital outlays of rayon-wide importance and a differentiated rent or differentiated income (if the farm derives such income), the authors justifiably recommend that only one payment should be fixed for every farm. They propose that the payment be determined either per unit of land area or in the form of a specific percentage of income (gross income) upon, of course, taking into account the objective natural and economic conditions of the farm. Such an approach would make feasible a system of fixed payments on whose basis individual farms operating under particularly difficult conditions could receive additional income. This is all the more expedient considering that under the current system of procurement prices insufficient allowance is made for the differentiated rent.

A major symptom of agrarian-industrial integration is the establishment of closer production-administrative and economic ties of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses with enterprises and organizations in the sphere of agricultural services, as well as with the enterprises processing agricultural products. The founders of the Talsinskoye RAPO exerted a great deal of effort to cooperate with agricultural-service organizations and enterprises for processing agricultural products. However, as admitted by the authors of the monographs reviewed here, this cooperation is far from adequate and is as yet of an episodic nature. Referring to the materials of the 25th CPSU Congress on this problem, A. Kalnyn'sh states: "It is worth noting that at present the potential of the RAPO is far from exhausted and that the further development and improvement of RAPOs will increasingly depend on the organizational and administrative form of the republic agro-industrial complex [APK] (republic agro-industrial association) [ReAPO]."

The authors of the collections reviewed here propose expanding the republic agro-industrial complex (APK) so as to include within it the Ministry of Agriculture along with all the enterprises and organizations subordinated to it, the Latvian Kolkhoz Construction Association [Latkolkhozstroy], the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Management, the Latvian SSR State Committee for Agricultural Equipment [Goskomsel'khoztekhnika], the Ministry of Procurements, the trade network and processing enterprises of the Latvian Consumer Cooperatives Union [Latpotrebsoyuz], the Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Management, the procurements network of the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry, and a number of enterprises of the food and light industry. Approximate calculations show that such an APK will include 312,000 workers and more than 700 enterprises whose fixed assets total 4.8 billion rubles and gross output, 2.7 billion rubles.

However, the question of the system and selection of more rational forms of management of the republic agro-industrial complex still remains debatable. In view of the complexity of the question of establishing administrative agencies of the republic APK as well as the difficulties in meshing them with the administrative ma-



chinery of individual ministries, the authors of the monographs are right to propose organizing the APK in a definite sequence of stages. As the first stage, they recommend setting up under the republic's Council of Ministers a committee for coordinating the activities of the APK with a small administrative apparatus. During that initial stage, the APK agencies would solely exercise the function of the coordination and harmonization of the activities of APK partners and direct the drafting of proposals and projects for improving the administration of the republic APK.

In concluding their monograph, "Experiences Gained by the Rayon Agro-Industrial Association," the authors provide a small chapter analyzing the economic effectiveness of the activities of the Talsinskoye RAPO. In that chapter, the indicators of economic effectiveness pertain to the increase in the income of the association during the years 1977 and 1979 (as compared with 1976) in relation to the income dynamics for the same period recorded for all kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Latvian SSR. Such additional income was found to total 334,000 rubles for Talsinskiy Rayon. The calculations were confirmed by the finding that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Talsinskoye RAPO not only achieved higher yields per 100 hectares of cropland but also were not as adequately supplied with production resources as regards certain products in comparison with the neighboring Tukumskiy and Vent-spilsskiy rayons. Other indicators also are cited, demonstrating the growing share of Talsinskiy Rayon in the republic-wide procurements of milk and meat.

It is conceivable, however, that, on studying these calculations of economic effectiveness, many readers will feel dissatisfied. Chiefly for the simple reason that, in general, it is not feasible to perform reliable calculations of the RAPO's effectiveness on the basis of agricultural statistics for 2 or 3 years, especially in our republic where climate conditions have been sharply fluctuating in different years and the sales prices and their differentiation by group of farms have been repeatedly revised. Calculations of effectiveness on the basis of indicators of social production per 100 hectares of croplands also do not appear quite correct to us, since the farms are not equally supplied with resources, and the share of actually tilled land (or the so-called cultivated land) in the aggregate area of agricultural land fluctuates markedly from one rayon in the republic to another.

The authors acted questionably in analyzing economic effectiveness without at all consulting long-term statistics on normative levels of crop yields and gross income in kolkhozes and sovkhozes, which are being kept by the Central Statistical Administration [TsSU], as well as corresponding statistics for all rayons of the republic. In these statistics, normative levels of indicators are calculated with allowance for the availability of production resources and other objective conditions of production (price level, availability of subsidiary branches, etc.). It appears that further improvements of the calculations of the economic effectiveness of RAPO activities should indeed be based on utilizing the aforementioned TsSU statistics. Actually, the authors themselves reached this conclusion by stating at the end of their monograph that: "Those who are supplied with more [production] resources are obligated to sell more output to the state. When the resources are identical, the plan tasks should be on the same scale--such is the mandatory prerequisite of socialist management. In other words, this concerns a broader application of the normative method in the planning and assessment of economic performance."

In conclusion, it cannot be but observed that the monographs reviewed here deserve high praise not only because of their theoretical level and practical significance but also because they offer a splendid example of the effective application of scientific research to the national economy--application in the true meaning of the word.

One should especially welcome the announcement, made in the preface to one of the monographs, that the Institute of Economics, Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, has commenced the compilation of special anthologies devoted to problems of increasing the effectiveness of development of the agro-industrial complex. All agricultural specialists in the republic, as well as the scientific community, will await with great interest the publication of these anthologies.

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1386

CSO: 1800/919

## REGIONAL

### LITHUANIAN ACCUSED OF ARMED ATTEMPT TO LEAVE COUNTRY

Vilnius TIESA [TRUTH] in Lithuanian 15 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by Vladas Vaičiūnas: "Criminal Designs Frustrated: Tracing One Case"]

[Text] It is common for bourgeois propaganda to picture black as white and vice versa. The anti-Soviets have no aversion to anything: the end, as they say, justifies the means. It is therefore not surprising that the press of the emigre nationalists and the CIA-supported radio stations have tried to turn Vladas Šakalys, a criminal recidivist who escaped to the West a few years ago and found asylum in the United States of America, into a hero and to create for him the halo of a martyr, a champion of human rights and peace.

Time sifts the chaff from the grain. People are becoming more and more perceptive as to who benefits from dollar-rewarded propaganda. The name of V. Šakalys still flickers occasionally in some publications which feed on the slander of the socialist system. The criminal offender showed a lively imagination in creating legends which blacken his native land and the work of its people. However, it also has a bottom--it is increasingly harder to dig up anything new. He has to keep pouring out his earlier inventions. Although they are embellished so as to make the deserter seem more attractive and less offensive, they have nevertheless become rather boring.

Some new vagrant for whom the foreign haze appears brighter than the light of his native land would now prove very useful to the anti-Soviets. Carrying on ideological sabotage, the nationalistic papers, while publishing interviews with V. Šakalys, hinted that followers of his were awaited. As it might be understood, they were to arrive shortly, perhaps tomorrow or even today. An opportunity would then unfold to ignite a new clamor or a whole slander campaign. As the nations of the world, among them the United States, become more resolute in their pronouncements on peace and cooperation, there needs to be a balance, and the ruling strata of the bourgeoisie are trying not to lose any opportunity for vociferation. The weak, unsonorous voice of the bourgeois nationalists, it appears, is also necessary and proves useful to the imperialist-conducted anti-Soviet chorus....Would they otherwise spend dollars for these services?

This is not the first time that the hostile press has portrayed that which is desired as that which exists. However, these papers, it has become clear, had some sort of basis for their hints; escaping to the United States, Vladas Šakalys left behind one of his accomplices--Jonas Valentinas Pakuckas, with whom he made plans for an easy life while serving sentence for committed crimes.

Lately, J. Pakuckas had been living in the Sasnava settlement of Kapsukas Rayon, as well as in Mauručiai village in Prienai Rayon. He worked nowhere. In his case file, which was recently examined by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court, even the following declaration by the parasite is recorded: "I do not want to be a work horse." He could not help but fall into crime by violating one of the most important statutes of the Soviet system, to live on the income from one's work, and by obstinately avoiding activity benefitting society. It is logical that seekers of an easy life, who want to circumvent the law, end up sooner or later in the dock and must answer for their actions.

The friendship of Jonas Pakuckas with Vladas Šakalys also played its role and was one of the steps in his moral downfall. Already at the Veiveriai secondary school, however, J. Pakuckas proved to be undisciplined. Through hooligan incentive he destroyed the village library. Avoiding responsibility, he was a vagrant for several years and survived through theft--armed with a pistol, he stole government, cooperative, as well as citizens' personal property. In the beginning of 1960 the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court sentenced him to loss of freedom for four years.

Life taught a lesson which necessarily had to be learned. It seemed that J. Pakuckas learned it. While serving his sentence he finished secondary school. New horizons beckoned when he was set free. He studied at the Kaunas School of Medicine and earned a specialty as a doctor's assistant. It was possible to imagine a decisive change in J. Pakuckas' life. The Soviet system is humane, and a person who has accidentally fallen can always raise himself. It is, however, his own efforts primarily and not just those of others that are necessary for this. Unfortunately, time has revealed that J. Pakuckas did not draw the right conclusions.

Searching for an easy life and bigger money, he often changed workplaces, not able to adapt himself anywhere. He eventually stopped practising what he trained for and became, finally, a parasite once again. He divorced Milda Pakuckiene, leaving her with an eight-year-old daughter, Snieguolė, and a two-year-old son, Saulius. He did not pay alimony for child support.

Time spent with Vladas Šakalys in a correction labor colony exerted a much greater influence. This thief (the criminal offences of V. Šakalys were reported in the article "How a recidivist became a defender of 'human rights'," published in the 11 March 1981 issue of TIESA) who had been opening other people's apartment doors with a skeleton-key, became a kind of teacher whom the new pupil was determined to follow blindly. Later, as he closely associated with him, Jonas Pakuckas also grasped his anti-Soviet attitudes: you could say that the ax fit the handle. It appeared that in the name of the sweetly attractive foreign smoke, they were both prepared to sacrifice everything that was still left--friends, intimates, their home land. Their calculations were not without foundation--they were supported by the presumption that to some people overseas it does not matter that you are a thief. The anti-Soviets calmly close their eyes to this and do not require even the simplest decency. Would a decent person go over to serve them? When necessary, they can turn a thief into a person wronged and a fighter for justice.

After he helped V. Šakalys to prepare for his escape and had seen the fugitive off to the West, J. Pakuckas avidly devoured the announcements on "Liberty" and other similarly funded radio stations. He was delighted by the way bourgeois propaganda portrayed his former accomplice, the way they honored a criminal recidivist. No matter what, Jonas Pakuckas understood perfectly the soap bubble that was being blown--he knew V. Šakalys too well to believe even in part what was being made up about him. He hoped, however, that they would also welcome him, Jonas Pakuckas, with open arms over there. And he also would try to portray his thievery and other vileness committed in Lithuania as a fight for human rights or whatever his new hosts wanted. They themselves probably do not believe a bit in the likes of V. Šakalys; they are only interested in the money they receive. J. Pakuckas prepared diligently for his venture into the "free world"; using V. Šakalys' experience, he tried to foresee any other possible accidents and to think everything out to the detail. He had a small caliber firearm which he kept without a permit. He strove to keep up his shooting skill so that in time of need his hand would not tremble. Together with Leonas Karūnaitis he practiced shooting a few times in the woods in the Pažėrai village area of Prienai Rayon. He also tested the accuracy of his eye on the outskirts of Mauručiai.

By the way, with another weapon, also of small caliber, Jonas Pakuckas and Vladas Šakalys, whom he was hiding from deserved punishment, were loitering in the Panoreikupiai village area in the Šakiai rayon on 15 June 1980--a few weeks before V. Šakalys fled to the West. God only knows what they were up to. In his testimony, which is in his case file, J. Pakuckas tries to convince us that they wanted "only to poach." At night he was detained by a Panoreikiai inhabitant, Reimundas Bieliauskas, who conveyed him to Jankai and together with Alfredas Bakis, the head of the Jankai Kolkhoz, disarmed him.

Intending to cross the border illegally, J. Pakuckas described his idea to his brother Vytautas Pakuckas, a driver for the Utena meat center, and his wife. Becoming accomplices, these two saw to getting hold of some articles of gold jewelry and U.S. dollars.

Weapons prepared for the subversive action were not used and did not cause any damage. Thanks for this, however, do not go to Jonas Pakuckas. Although he tried very hard, he could not put his idea into action--it was prevented by the vigilance of the Soviet people.

Vladas Šakalys, his hosts and protectors overseas will wait in vain for their new assistant. The Lithuanian SSR Supreme Court appraised the new criminal action of Jonas Valentinas Pakuckas, a parasite and criminal recidivist, at its true worth.

It is quite possible that bourgeois propaganda, turning everything upside down, will try to use this case also for their purposes. After all, it is nothing new for them to portray black as white.

9931

CSO: 1809/7

## REGIONAL

### QUESTIONS OF ART, CULTURE IN UKRAINE DISCUSSED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in Russian 29 Jun 82 p 2

[Article by A. Kapto, secretary, Ukrainian CP CC: "The Elevation of Personality"]

[Excerpts] It is difficult to overestimate the emotional effect of literature and art. It is not accidental that our ideological adversaries exploit them so broadly and often so cynically for their own ends. It is not accidental that the dubious fame of having created the so-called "mass culture" belongs precisely to them—a culture whose principal purpose is a general "mass" downgrading of the level of intellectual and cultural needs, their primitivization and standardization. A culture that results in denigrating and discarding the higher values of the human spirit. They are dangerous, since they contribute to the growth of awareness and a critical attitude toward the pseudo-values of the bourgeois consumer society. Instead, the consumer of elegant packagings is offered rugged individualism, absolutism, asocial values, and sexual--and other moral--libertarianism as well as the cult of strength and material values. One cannot but recall K. Marx's comment that "private property cannot turn crude needs into **/human/** [printed in boldface] needs."

The "mass culture" industry as a component part of the West's propagandist machinery operates at full speed. It successfully and significantly influences the formation of cultural needs among Western Philistines and to some extent also the formation of their social attitudes. Many "accomplishments" of this "mass culture" are utilized in the current ideological struggle against us in the vain hope of influencing the souls of Soviet people.

Attempting to alter the value scale of spiritual needs, Western cultural-propaganda centers hope above all to influence changes in world outlook with the object of bringing about the "disintegration" of the socialist society.

That is why it is so important, along with counter-propaganda work--in which, too, a special role belongs to literary and art criticism--to steadfastly attend to elevating the ideological-artistic level of creativity and increase the effectiveness of its influence on the formation of spiritual needs so as to "elevate the personality" of the Soviet man. These matters at present lie in the forefront of ideological struggle--the struggle for the hearts and minds of people and, in the final analysis, for a bright future for the entire mankind.

In recent years a large number of art exhibitions has been organized in this republic--larger perhaps than warranted by the creative potential of masters of the brush and the chisel. They showed hundreds if not thousands of works of the pictorial and plastic art. The situation is seemingly satisfactory. One can cheerfully report that artists are supposedly very active. Unfortunately, however, the pictures include some that do not meet with any great public interest. Such a situation cannot but be alarming, because art may not develop in such a direction, in which it fails to fulfill its principal social function--that of educating the new man.

It is quite natural that exhibitions cannot consist exclusively of masterpieces of art, just as some films, theatrical shows, books, and concert programs are better than others. But they all are supposed to convey that element of infectious artistic uniqueness which influences the hearts and minds of viewers and causes them again and again to recollect the painting, film, book, or drama, and which imperiously impresses images and ideas on the consciousness of the audience. Their value primarily resides in the force of their impact, in their suggestiveness, and the attraction they exercise--factors that cannot be overlooked.

The modern Soviet man is an educated one who lives in the era of the scientific-technological revolution and effective mass media, and who is quite familiar with many masterpieces of domestic and world culture; he is not susceptible to--and sometimes no longer can accept--the forms of cultural existence which sometimes are offered to him. That is why the so-called mass activities organized by some clubs reek of musty formalism. Their organizers mobilize Komsomol, trade-union, and even party organizations to ensure the mass nature of these activities. In Nikolayevskaya [Oblast] kolkhozes, on the other hand, art--music, pictorial art, books-- was "turned on," not for some mass purpose but in order to reach the heart of every member of the collective, to respond to his need for beauty and communication.

As we see, the growth of culture and spiritual needs enters into an inevitable collision with bureaucratic, formal attitude toward satisfying the related needs, with irrelevant and outmoded forms favored by certain cultural and enlightenment activists and administrators. These days you will not fill an auditorium by offering dancing "before and after the show," as is still being done in some places, fruitlessly. These days the audience is interested primarily in the show itself, in its ideological-artistic qualities.

Unfortunately, this is not understood everywhere and by everyone, and the inertia of thought of certain comrades responsible for these functions cannot always be operatively overcome. The case of the Kiev "Druzhba" [Friendship] Theatre is characteristic. Much good has been written and said about that theatre, quite justly too. It has, in our opinion, devised a felicitous way of propagandizing the achievements of the Soviet multinational theatrical art, the active rapprochement and mutual enrichment of the fraternal theatrical cultures. The activities of the "Druzhba" Theater represent major cultural events in the life of the capital of the Ukraine, of the entire republic.

Until recently these activities included not only guest performances of major dramas by troupes from theatres located in various cities of the country, but also interesting soiree performances by the eminent Thespians M. Ul'yanova, A. Stepanova, V. Art-



mane, T. Doronina, and S. Yurskiy. But suddenly the heads of the Ukrkontsert [Ukrainian Concert] and the local philharmony conceived the idea that this supposedly was affecting their revenues in that large city with its population of two million and that hence it is they who should organize such soirees. Such an attitude is, of course, both unjustified and tantamount to defending those who themselves do not explore, and do not wish to explore, new directions and do not want to let others do it. What is deplorable about it is that, while this "conflict" was in progress, the audiences were deprived of properly enjoying the great and illuminating world of art.

The 26th CPSU Congress has clearly outlined the tasks in this most important field of ideological struggle. The congress especially stressed the responsibility of the artist toward the nation as regards meeting the ever growing cultural needs of the Soviet people. Analysis of the practical activities of artistic organizations during the period following the congress, especially in our republic, reveals that at present these tasks are being successfully accomplished.

1836

CSO: 1800/964



## REGIONAL

### SPECIAL UNITS SEARCH OUT RADIO 'HOOLIGANS'

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 5 Mar 82 p 4

[Article by V. Lukin: "Jamming the Distress Signal"]

[Text] The spot of light on the screen of the radio direction finder looks like a star -- a bright point in the center and sharp green rays shooting off in all directions. The lever of the closer scan clicks. As if drawn together by a magnet, the rays line up in a single direction -- that is where the radio transmitter is operating.

-- We have it, -- said Aleksandr Terent'yev, the commander of an operations group of amateur radio operators.

This is not the first hour that we have been hunting for this transmitter. The radio-hooligan with the code name of "Nominal" came onto the air at 11:00 in the evening, and now it is already getting light.

The Central Radio Control vehicle is racing through the empty streets. The little star on the screen flares up and dies down, and the rather gruff voice of "Nominal" is clearly audible in the earphones. He is calling a "Nakal."

-- Who was that? -- I ask Terent'yev.

-- That one is also in the field, -- Aleksandr explains. -- Soon we shall get after "Nakal" also. The Black Sea fishermen are already complaining about him -- he operates on a frequency which has been assigned for distress signals.

This is the second year that a specialized detachment for the struggle against radio hooligans has been operating at the Moscow Sports and Technical Radio Club. The amateur radio operators go out evenings to maintain order in the air. And not without results -- the city has been almost completely freed of radio-hooligans now. "Nominal" is the last.

-- These people are hindering the development of radio sports, -- says the amateur radio operator and participant in our raid S. V. Golubev. -- Usually they are very doubtful types, without any notion of morality, and sometimes they are simply criminal elements. How many times, when they are caught on the air on a work

frequency, have the operators of official radio stations warned them: "Your transmissions are interfering with the railroad and Aeroflot dispatchers, and you are subjecting peoples' lives to danger. Vacate the frequency immediately!" And in reply -- abuse....

Leaving the car on the street, and equipped with pocket locators and flashlights, we enter a cozy Moscow courtyard. The antenna has to be found.

This time the violator's self-confidence helped. Thinking that no one could hear him, he cried out to his friend: "I want to re-hang the antenna; it is sticking out right in view, on the corner of the building ...."

The district policeman M. I. Grishin, to whom we had turned for help, was perplexed:

-- Apartment 54? Strange. The tenant is an engineer, an elderly man and a quite respectable one.

Indeed, "Nominal's" appearance somehow did not jibe with the idea of a hooligan -- a short, baldish man, outwardly innocuous, and even timid. If not for the transmitter on the desk, one could have thought that we had made an error. Not a trace was left of the bravado with which "Nominal" broadcast on the air; the violator was fined, the radio transmitter was confiscated, and it was promised that a copy of the protocol would be sent to his job.

And so, Moscow's air is clean. However, while they are able to call violators in the capital to order, Moscow's radio amateurs are not able to solve the problem of clean air everywhere in the country. This requires the creation of protection services in every oblast. Only then will hooligans stop their far from innocent "sailing" on the airwaves.

2959

CSO: 1800/665

## REGIONAL

### NEW ROLE FOR CHECHEN WOMEN DESCRIBED, PRAISED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Vera Tkachenko, special correspondent: "Mountain Woman"]

[Text] What does a 40-year-old woman think about while gazing at her growing daughters?...

By long custom Aminat, after returning in the evening from the farm, loves to sit down for a while on the porch of her new house. These high, watchtower-like porches with their steep, precipitous stairs, as if cut into a cliffside, in modern-day Chechen settlements are truly built in memory of the mountain saklias [dwellings of Caucasian peoples] of their forefathers; even on a plain the mountaineer strives to live somewhat higher up.... Aminat sat down to catch her breath, having taken off the rubber boots which she had worn that day and having removed from her head her black, silk kerchief, while her daughters Roza and Koka busily hurried around the courtyard just like two swift martlets. The girls were hastening to finish up the domestic chores, trying to do a dozen things at once so that Mama could sit for a little while longer on the porch, resting her tired hands on her knees and with a scarcely noticeable, approving smile in the corners of her good, full lips.

Aminat sensed, she knew how the girls treasured these brief moments of silent communion with her, how necessary her smile was to them, and what they would not give to make this smile just a bit more merry.... And she herself would have been glad to remove from her face the shadow of sorrow, just like washing away the dust and weariness which had settled there during the day with her own spring water, but this was still not within her powers. The pain of her loss was still too fresh in her; too little time had elapsed since that dark day when she, having returned from work on just such an evening as this, had found her youngest son in a fever, and had distractedly and helplessly waited about together with the perplexed woman doctor.... Toward morning the head of the family, Nazhmudin Badalov, knocked on the neighbor's door: let him bring Aminat's relatives from the settlement of Kulari for the funeral of little Magomed, and let them not delay.... The dear, childish voice had rung out and was silent forever, and Aminat, having put a black kerchief on her head, became silent and withdrew into herself. The whole family would lower their eyes when they caught sight of the deeply hidden, unshed tears in her eyes. But the daughters Roza and Koka, with that fine female sympathy inherent in adolescent girls, figured out better than the others in the family how to treat Mama's grief. Their concern and patient, devoted love knows no bounds; their faces

bloom with joy when, with a quiet movement of her eyelashes and a faint smile, thanks them without words: "Everything is all right, I am fine...."

And so what does a 40-year-old woman think about, when she sits, catching her breath on the threshold of her house, and guardedly, as if from the side, gazes at her daughters in their first springtime blossoming, charming and shy, like the glimmering of a morning at birth? The older girl, Roza, is 15; she is flexible and graceful, with a perky little face and a quick, playful glance. Because of her fine, capricious beauty this girl has been called Kukla ["Dolly"] since childhood, but, now that she has grown a bit older, the proud, self-willed Roza frowns angrily when her brothers, Khusain and Ramzan greet her by her childhood nickname.... The younger girl is tender and shy, rather like a creature of the wild in her awkward behavior and somewhat reminiscent of a forest dove, from which her first name Koka was adopted. "Just like innocent brides," the mother sighed silently to herself, and in her sigh was both gladness and a woman's bitter sorrow. If her daughters were growing up, that meant that her own youth was passing leaving in a remembrance about herself these blossoming female lives, in which the mother recognized herself, as in the traits of a mature person one recognizes the face of childhood which is long past. Youth was passing and, of course, was yielding along with remembered moments of the past, but her breath was still warm; this had not ceased, and Aminat's thick, black braid testified otherwise, and her eyes, though covered with the ashes of sorrow, still preserved in their depths a hidden, soft, feminine light....

A woman of her age is still bothered by youth in nocturnal dreams, and even in the midst of daytime cares it appears just as deceptively close as on a sunny, summer day the gray giants of the Black Mountains from the high porch of her house. The heavy semi-circle of the rocky crest with its diamond-like, jagged glacial peaks seem to advance densely toward the settlement of Gekhi, but just try to reach the foothills--your strength doesn't hold out.... To be sure, old age has still not appeared at the gate of the house where Aminat is the homemaker, but how far removed into the past was that unforgettable spring day, with all the cherry trees blossoming in white and pink, as well as the apple and apricot trees, drunk with the fine scent of new grasses to its very edges--a day when at the village well a girl by the name of Aminat met for the first time a quick-eyed strong young fellow from the next village named Nazhmudin Badalov, who later became her beloved and by destiny the father of her five children....

Nevertheless, youth does not leave a woman without a trace if children are growing up in her house. In their daughters, overflowing with the juices of life and getting prettier day by day, mothers are destined to experience again their own youth which has flown away from them. Indeed is the splendid springtime in the lives of daughters, full of tremulous freshness and charm, not a festive time for a mother, not a source of profound, albeit anxious happiness? And how do we know whether the maternal joy of a woman yields to that far-off but not forgotten, winged feeling of the fullness and endlessness of life which she herself once experienced in her own springtime days? An adolescent who just yesterday was awkward and childish suddenly, as it were, awakens from sleep and, having opened her eyes wide, looks around with a joyful perplexity, as if discovering anew and for herself the world around her, accepting as a priceless gift her own destiny on Earth, her as-yet unknown fate, her coming love, and her entire subsequent life with its joys,

hopes, and sorrows. This feeling of the awakening of a maturing soul, so enticing and scarcely frightening, like the distant glimmerings of the first spring thunderstorm, once came to Aminat suddenly, in an hour of solitude just like a dawning, and everything miraculously altered in herself and around her, just as if the good fairy of the mountains had touched ordinary things and scenes with her magic wand.

At that time she was returning from the mountain pasture where her father and brothers were tending their flock of sheep. It was that strange hour when the brief summer night was departing, when everything round about was encompassed in stillness, such a sensitive and crystalline resonance that the slight crunching of dry twigs underfoot or pebbles rolling down along the path resounded like thunder. The Earth was still slowly waking up and throwing off its sleepy torpor, while the sky, slowly growing pale from the East, was extinguishing the large southern stars one after another.... And here the mountains were still concealing behind them the fiery globe of the Sun, and the plain which ran down from their spurs was still resting in semi-darkness, cloaked in a very fine mist. But scarcely had the first ray touched the peaks, as if crowning their snow-white papakhas [tall Caucasian hats usually made of sheepskin] when they flared up like the scarlet sparks of a bonfire, fractionating and overflowing like diamond dust. The flaming glow of the East ignited with a smokeless fire the curly-headed, dew-soaked slopes, rolling down ever lower and lower, until the semi-flood of very tender, dark-pink light inundated to the edges the enormous saucer of the plateau. It seemed to Aminat that it was precisely from there, from the steep slope under her feet that the new, just-born day was sliding down onto the land. Shaken and overflowing with delight, she went racing down along the steep path with a wild shout which tore itself from her breast: "Amina-at!" The girl did not notice that the high ferns, full of dew, sprayed her bare feet like a fountain and that the soaked hem of her skirt was heavy with water like a wet sail, and her long, black braids, just like a swallow's wings, flew out behind her. "Aminat!"--the young girl's voice rang out and laughed, and the mountain echo, having caught her name like a ball, rolled it through the gorges for a long time, until it was finally lost in the distance. "What have you been up to today...?" without finishing her thought, the mother looked attentively at her face, when Aminat, who had reddened with the heat, arrived home by noon. "Did anything happen?" "Nothing," the daughter answered and looked into her mother's eyes with a clear, truthful gaze. And indeed, you know, nothing had happened. It was simply that on that morning she had felt herself become an adult....

That miraculous morning in the mountains which she experienced--did it deceive Aminat by promising her happiness for all of her long life? Reared in the spirit of the independent traditions of her little nation, Aminat on the outside was no different than other mountain women. In her home, like a true Chechen girl, she was quiet, restrained, and tractable, in a place where, by mountain traditions, the decisive word belonged to the man, the head of the family. On the other hand, among the Chechens since olden times it has been the case that within the family itself it is the woman who is almost completely in charge. Within her little kingdom, enclosed by the courtyard fence, she is the housekeeper, worker, and the person who rears the children. Mistress of her home, wife of her husband, and mother of her children--this is the traditional enclosed triangle within which the Chechen woman of a mountain settlement spends following her lifetime path from her marriage to the grave, and it is a rare one among them who, by her own

initiative steps across the boundary designated by the age-old customs of her forefathers.

Aminat stepped over it so lightly and naturally that it seems as though she herself did not notice this, did not suddenly realize that in her, so to speak, two different women were dwelling: one of them was the restrained, concerned wife and mother, the other was the boss of a large dairy farm, energetic, decisive, skilled in words and deeds. What gave her the strength to rise above her domestic little world, above her own warm but too closely confined, freedom-loving, strong nature? How did it come about that the quiet, modest silent keeper of the family hearth, Aminat Badalova, became the republic's only woman livestock brigade-leader, outdid all the men brigade-leaders, was made a member of the party raykom as well as a people's deputy?

"Know your own place, woman!" the mountain girl had been told for centuries, and she believed, could not help but believe in the inflexibility of the forefathers' commandments. But other times arrived, other customs have been affirmed within families, where supremacy is no longer assumed by a swaggering, self-conceited husband-dzhigit /skilled horseman, specializing in fancy, trick riding/ but the understanding and participation of a husband-friend. No, Aminat was not deceived by that fascinating dawn in the mountains which promised her long-lasting happiness and love for her entire life. Nazhmudin was the first to evaluate his wife's remarkable nature, and, although he loved to jokingly say that his wife had a character that God should not give to anyone, he firmly respected her firmness, integrity, justice, and confident grasp of business matters--qualities which set her apart from the women's environment of the Gekhi settlement. And, therefore, he, scorning custom, without looking back over his shoulder at people's gossip, abandoned many privileges of the "dzhigit," which were jealously safeguarded by his kinsmen, and, together with his eldest children, he took upon himself the lion's share of the domestic duties, whose tiresome petty power had pressed from time immemorial like a lump of rock on the woman's shoulders. Also once, at the dawn of their love, he firmly safeguarded his young fiancée, Aminat, from the shameful ritual of the "bride ransom," and then from the dependent position without rights in the home of her father-in-law, which was customary for a married mountain woman.

But it was not at once, not in a day, and not in a year that Aminat was able to overcome in herself the powerful habit of scurrying about the house like a squirrel, considering domestic chores to be a woman's principal occupation, and it troubled her heart to yield her age-old place at the domestic hearth to her growing daughters.... For many years she worked on the farm as an accounting clerk and was seemingly quite satisfied. The work was "not arduous": she received the milk, checked it over, sent it on to the dairy plant, and then went home. But Aminat's warm heart languished with a vague dissatisfaction and irritation that here she was, a young and healthy woman, living at half-strength somewhere off to the side of the farm's concerns. She could not look with indifference at the ill-cared-for and poorly-fed livestock and the milkmaids distraught by chronic disorders, nor could she calmly bear the crudity of the unsober brigade-leaders, who were often replaced. How many of them had there been at the farm while she was there: seven or eight? It so happened that there had also been some experienced persons among them, but even they conducted themselves on the farm "like commanding officers": they would arrive quite late, make a lot of noise, scold people who needed to be scolded and those who did not--and let the barnyard go to hell. It sometimes



happened that at dawn Aminat with her sensitive hearing would catch the sound of yearning, hungry mooing from the farm, and then, abandoning her household chores in mid-course, she would hastily get dressed and run headlong to the livestock yard to give the cows their feed somewhat early. Once she was discovered at this solitary task by the sovkhos party organizer, Vakha Khasanov, who asked: "What are you doing here all alone? Where is the brigade-leader?" "Somewhere, the devil take him!"-- Aminat answered testily, without interrupting her work. Vakha thought for a little while, mechanically chewing a stalk of grass, and then said somewhat uncertainly: "Well, now, Aminat, you be the brigade-leader for a while, and then we'll see...." Aminat understood his hesitation: never before had a woman been appointed brigade-leader on the farm; every command post in livestock raising had always been occupied by a man. But, contrary to expectations, the sovkhos director, Khizir Tokayev, readily agreed with the party organizer: "Well, that's an interesting thought! Badalova is a strong-willed woman, and she knows the farm's business like the palm of her own hand. Let's approve!"

They approved and...were not too happy about it: it was a sharp, seemingly too sharp a turn for the steering-wheel of the farm to be handled by the first woman brigade-leader. In the office they clasped their heads when Aminat Badalova fired three milkmaids from the farm right away for being late to work, poor milking, and for stealing jars of milk. "I will not allow the theft of state property," Aminat dryly declared early the next morning before milking to the farm workers who had assembled in the "red corner." Also among them was the forager, Nazhmudin Badalov. Smiling good-naturedly, he leaned toward the person seated next to him: "You won't envy my life now. She is my boss here and at home also...." Aminat pretended not to hear this, but Nazhmudin stopped short when he noticed how angrily his wife's dark eyes had flared up. That evening he spoke to her peevishly: "You don't have to hurl lightning at me in front of people. You know, I don't steal anything...." "That's about enough of that," Aminat smiled in a reconciling way and added almost caressingly: "At home you are my husband, but at work just forget about that...."

For the umpteenth time Nazhmudin was amazed at his wife's astounding disposition. The quiet, "domestic" Aminat was transformed unrecognizably at work: collected, tireless, and decisive, like a tightly wound spring, implacable and severe where the interests of the business are affected. On the other hand, she is severe only toward loafers and "spongers" [?], on whom she has declared ruthless war. Conscientious, hard-working cow-herds and milkmaids, especially those who are widows or who have many children, and a good half of the group fall into these categories, have nothing to fear from her. Aminat is with them on the farm from pre-dawn till after dark, she does not avoid anything, and everything which occurs in these women's families, all their needs, concerns, and adversities are just like in her palm. If someone's roof is in need of repair, or there is no wood for the stove, or if the husband is drinking too much, Aminat is the first to know about it, nor does she rest until things are set straight, even if she has to go to the party raykom, she will "get" help. The brigade has won an award, and under her leadership the once rather poorish farm has become one of the leading ones with regard to milk yields, having taken first place in the republic two years ago--Aminat divides things up among everybody according to the work results, without quarrel, envy, or insult.... If there is a "deficit" to be assigned for the livestock farmers, Aminat permits the group to decide to whom and what to assign.

Honorable, unselfish, and modest in everything which affects her own personal interests, Aminat stops at nothing if her people or their work are suffering. It seems that the secretary of the Urus-Martanovskiy party raykom, Alkhazur Kagermanov, is the only person ever to see Aminat cry: this was when they had decided to transfer one of two silage trenches to a neighboring farm. Long before the haying Aminat walked out into the field and looked over the grasses; then, when they began to pack the hay into the trenches, she stood alongside the pit without leaving for an instant and watched over the packing, noting down each trip by the trucks. She knew that only in this way could she prevent "mukhlezh": one truck drives up, they record three, and during the next winter this "harmless" deceit turns into short rations for the cows and high milk production costs for the farm. Brigade-leader's main law is that every kilogram of feed reaches the livestock. And here they are taking away an entire trench! "Take away this hay--and you dismiss me! What kinds of milk yields will we have with such under-feeding? What will I say to the milkmaids?"--small, frequent tears rolled down Aminat's round face like hail. The raykom secretary came out from behind his desk, grasped her by the shoulders and said: "There, there now, calm down! We won't let your cows go hungry...." After escorting Aminat out, he sat down again and turned his head, pondering the strangeness of this proud, feminine nature. He well knew what a great spiritual strength was possessed by the Communist, Aminat Badalova, with what restraint, not displaying her sorrow on the outside, she bore her personal misfortunes, but here some routine, workaday troubles at which another brigade-leader would simply wave his hand had compelled her to suffer deeply. Kagermanov would not have been a party official if out of his meditations and observations he had not drawn a practical conclusion: "No, it was a correct decision to advance a woman to the ranks of the farm leading officials! We must proceed even more boldly along this path: the mountain woman has yet to utter her decisive word in social labor."

...Evening had covered the settlement of Gekhi with a dark, noiseless wing, and the flat silhouette of the Black Mountains had moved back and concealed itself from eyes with its eroded shadows. "Mama, supper's ready!"--a husky, girlish voice called out from the summer kitchen. Aminat roused herself and, rising nimbly from the porch, she answered into the darkness: "I'm coming, dear daughter..."

2384

CSO: 1800/960



## REGIONAL

### MODERNIZATION OF RELIGION COMPLICATES ATHEIST EDUCATION

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 13 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by I. Ryaboshtanov, lecturer for the "Znaniye" Society of the Lithuanian SSR: "Bearers of the Light of Knowledge"]

[Text] The Tenth Congress of the "Znaniye" Society of the Lithuanian SSR is opening today in the republic's capital. This voluntary mass organization unites in its ranks 47,600 people--scientists, engineers, doctors, teachers, and advanced production workers. They perform active work to disseminate political and scientific knowledge. The society's members include 26 members and 35 corresponding members of the union republic and branch academies of sciences, 317 doctors of sciences and professors, and more than 3400 candidates in sciences and docents. An average of 1000 lectures are read every day in the republic; during the year they collect an audience which exceeds 17 million people. Lecture propaganda has become firmly established in the spiritual life of Soviet people, and has won wide popularity and recognition and the high praise of the party. Its present-day thematic range covers practically all of the fields of knowledge and promotes the communist education of the workers. The noble work of the members of the republic organization of the "Znaniye" Society clearly demonstrates the inseparable connection between the Soviet intelligentsia and the people and the former's selfless devotion to the ideals of communism.

Atheistic education is a component part of the formation of the new man. Under present-day conditions, when religion is increasingly being modernized, and the clergy is striving to make use for its own purposes of even the achievements of scientific and technological progress, the tasks of atheists become more complex. Educational work with believers requires ability, tact, patience, and profound knowledge from the propagandist, lecturer, and agitator.

The Vilnius Trade Tekhnikum has accumulated useful experience in the atheistic education of pupils. An atheistic council has been created here which is led

by the teacher and head of the correspondence division V. Mitskene. The council consists of the Komsomol Secretary Ye. Tolkacheva, the dormitory aide S. Plerpene, the head of the library A. Tamulyakvichene, and the teacher S. Yablonskene who directs the atheistic circle. Among the members of the circle are 35 pupils -- Komsomol activists -- who engage in anti-religious propaganda directly in the study groups.

Although there are only isolated believers among the pupils, practically the entire youth is covered by atheistic education. And this is not accidental. For if even only a small section of young people has a very confused idea about religion and is not profoundly aware of its social harm and incompatibility with science, it can easily, under definite circumstances, be subjected to religious influence. In addition, one encounters youngsters among the pupils who in essence do not believe in God, but who with their behavior foster the vitality of religious prejudices: sometimes at the insistence of their religious parents they agree to take part in christenings, church weddings, and church celebrations, or, mindlessly paying tribute to "fashion" they wear crosses. Individual work is conducted with them in the Tekhnikum, and the Komsomol activists and teachers try to draw them into the collective's public activities.

The members of the atheist circle provide the pupils with recommendations about what popular scientific literature to read, and keep them informed about when an interesting radio or television broadcast on atheism can be seen or heard. The pupils are given work on reports which are then discussed in the groups for the purpose of developing firm atheistic convictions in the youth. The pupils G. Rimonte, G. Bitautayte, G. Sagatite, and Ya. Rakauteyte have prepared substantive reports on the topics of a scientific materialist worldview, the anti-scientific nature of religious beliefs, and the origin of religion.

As practical experience shows, the power of parental authority is frequently the decisive reason which compels young family members to assimilate religious notions, ideas, and views and to follow various customs. This is why the atheism work plan provides for measures of an educational character not only for the pupils, but also for their parents.

The authority of public atheistic influence is extraordinarily great. The pupils G. Shireyka and V. Shapronas entered the Tekhnikum as closed people, with poorly developed social interests. This was the effect of religious influence in the family. Subsequently they became active Komsomol members, and themselves participated in atheistic work. This, of course, was preceded by long and painstaking individual work which was performed with them and their parents by the group leader A. Ledene and by Komsomol activists. Last year they graduated from the Tekhnikum and are now working in their specialties. The teachers and young atheist-agitators have helped Z. Yankaytis, L. Yaunishkite, and other pupils to free themselves from religious influence, and have drawn them into public work.

The forms and methods of mass atheism propaganda in the Tekhnikum are diverse: thematic evenings, contests, excursions, cultural excursions, question and answer evenings, and lectures which are given for the pupils not only in the Tekhnikum,

but also in the planetarium and in the House of the Teacher. The vivid lectures by the qualified lecturers K. Daukshi, P. Pechura, B. Yaunishkis, V. Balkyavichyus, and Yu. Stankaytis have been remembered by the young people. As a rule, the lectures are accompanied by the showing of color slides and black and white slides.

The Tekhnikum's atheists receive a large amount of practical help in their work on atheism from their patrons -- the Museum of Atheism of the Lithuanian SSR and, in particular, the museum's Senior Scientific Associate R. Zhlobayte, and the Chief of the Department of Mass Work Ye. Ivashkyavichyus. They take active part in preparing and holding question and answer evenings, help to renew visual agitation and also the library's permanent book exhibition "Science and Religion," and provide methodological assistance to the atheism council and the members of the atheism circle.

The experience which has been gained in the organization of the atheistic education of the pupils is helping to perfect the formation in young men and women of a scientific materialist worldview and merits wide dissemination in other educational institutions and schools.

2959

CSO: 1800/665

## REGIONAL

### STATUS OF SOVIET JEWS IN MUSLIM REPUBLICS

#### Long-time Residents

Paris L'ARCHE in French Jul 82 pp 73-77

[Article by Victor Ber: "Jews in the Soviet Islamic Areas"]

[Text] Moscow, Saturday evening, spring 1982. Saturday night fever does not suit the rockers here. Each person does his own thing: in final purchases at Gum; in a closely packed crowd outside the synagogue in Arkhipova Street; in the patient lines outside the major Moscow restaurants.... The Uzbekistan Restaurant is one of those that is too small to handle all its customers. To get in the door, which a vigilant doorman opens only rarely, you have to show identification...or the "Blue Card"--Gosplan is still greedy for earnings measured in capitalist currencies....

In the rear of the double dining-room are married people and their relatives. The singer is belting out a joyful "Hatan cala, mazal tov" which is drawing them onto the floor. However, they do not understand Yiddish, also they are not Jews. Thus, on a very typical Moscow evening one might get the feeling that Jewish culture is part of the scene. However, the atmosphere in Arkhipova Street--a mixture of nuances of both anxiety and serenity--leads us to a completely different reality; that of the "refuseniks" and the exiled with their strong "world at midnight" odors, and the bitter resignation, twin sister of the secret hope of finally seeing, if not the dawning of de-Stalinization, at least the opening of the borders.

However, the USSR is also the East. It should no longer surprise us that the government has difficulty adjusting to the untidy bustle of the street, or to this surprising manifestation of Soviet modernity.

Thus, in the heart of this Soviet Orient, the Uzbekistan has the effect of a tectonic composition, "like displacements in a terrain, after its original formation, by internal forces." Official Islam and the party conflict over the framework and way of life, except where they mutually decide amiably to promote their respective influences amid the current nonchalance of a people too preoccupied with their own daily lives. Here, Islam lives, it does not publicize itself, and the very Soviet-oriented speeches of Ziatdin Babakhanov, grand mufti of Tashkent, will not affect youth participation in either the

mosque or the Komsomol. The Uzbeks make their decisions in other contexts, although the mufti may have succeeded in arranging repair of some village mosques, some pilgrimages to Mecca, or five more students at the Medressa (Koranic school) in Bukhara. The memories of Ibn Gavirol and Ibn Sina, Avecebron and Avicenne, associate Spain, as a result of the expansion of Islam, with Uzbekhistan. Only the first was Jewish, but the renown of both derives from the same memory; that tolerance which contributed to elevating mankind, even though this picture was clouded intermittently by harrassment or oppression until 1850.

How can we resist searching out in the area around Reghistan, that marvelous historic center of Samarkand, the traces of a golden age which the Inquisition failed to erase? Here, the magic of the architecture brings back scattered and mixed memories of "A Thousand and One Nights" and the Silk Road, of a world little affected by the upheavals of time and of a Judaism which has not wandered for more than 20 centuries. There in the "Tupiks," those mazes of poorly maintained streets, you have a good chance of finding, in a mood of curiosity and emotion, the trace of an ancient community; and is it really so unreasonable to allow yourself to imagine that these present Jews, speaking Judeo-Tadzhik, convinced that "samolet" (Russian word for plane) is an international word, and regarding Moscow as the end of the world, are the survivors of those lost tribes? Accept the fact that they regard you as atypical Jews, strange and strangers; thus, when in that Jewish household in Bukhara, Rano brought out a Haggadah which his father offered to me, were they seeking proof of my Judaism before accepting me, or more prosaically was there something exotic about hearing me read "Ma Nishtanah"? Less discriminating in his perception of the difference, this "shochet" of Samarkand introduced the woman who was taking the chickens on their last trip, knife in her teeth but certainly not a bolshevik, and stroking with an expert finger the feathered and uneasy body, then doubly reassured his customer, along with a nod of the head--"The chicken is kosher," adding with a mutter, "they are Polski Jews" (sic). We were undoubtedly intruders among these ritual tasks on the eve of Pesach; they were the perfect example of this impassive Judaism, living in a Tadzhik mold.

This is the same echo from the depth of history which you get when you ask a Jew in Baku whether he is a Sephardi or an Ashkenazi: He replies, somewhat mischievously, that Azerbaijan has the peculiarity of sheltering yet a third type of Jews, the "Gori," the "mountain people." These Dagh Choufouts are descendants of the Jewish soldiers of the Persian Sassanid king who ruled the western shore of the Caspian in Daghestan beginning in the 13th century. Their dialect, which is strongly influenced by Hebrew, is the basis of the Tatar language. Here again, the imperturbable Judaism.... The very convulsed history of these coveted areas, from Caucasus to China, has thus scattered a few fossils which witness to the diversity of Jewish destinies. Among the more astonishing are the Chalas of Bukhara, these crypto-Jews, "adopted" by the Muslims in the middle of the 18th century. The Russian conquest in 1968 enabled this community to resume open practice of Judaism, but a few hundred Chalas are said to remain in a difficult to reach area of Uzbekhistan.

Today, however, it is an entirely different picture that prevails. Under the uniform sky in which the Kremlin shines, the clouds spare some parts of the countryside. Thus, in the Islamic areas, it is religion, more a cultural and national identity than a fervent faith, which has molded society and is today forging a resistance which ignores doctrine, drawing its strength from a thousand-year consensus, and to a degree indifferent to the repeated attacks of successive conquests. From his seat at Gour Emir, in the heart of Samarkand, Timur Lang-Tamerlan watches over his subjects as well as he can, and protects them from the latest attack, by "big brother Russia." However, this is no longer the 18th century, and the land of Soviet Islam now of its own accord shelters, in the shadow of the crescent, the Jewish culture and traditions. This culture has its literature, customs, language, and food but the dangers it faces are less those of an institutionalized antisemitism than of an alleged modernity. The illusion that Russification makes it possible to climb the social ladder has spread beyond the careerists of the Soviet Communist Party; from one generation to the next in the course of its social climbing, there will be in this Jewish community rather fewer Tadzhik first names, a few more Russian first names; the rare mixed marriages are between Jews and Russians, not Jews and Uzbeks, as if they did not want to increase a family's problems by what would appear to be a social decline. For the Russian conquest of 1868, while emancipating the Jews, sowed in their consciousness the germs of a break with their milieu. Certainly, we cannot generalize these breaches, since the ties with Uzbekistan remain profound; language, way of thinking, clothing, artistic expression, and type of housing continue to be those of the environment. The neighborly relations are still excellent, and our host summed them up with a "salam aleykum, aleykum essalem," which is more than a simple greeting in the Uzbek culture; it contains a note of respect and confidence, which was certainly present in the words of the speaker. Also, the intimacy of this Jewish quarter in Tashkent, with its small houses with courtyards, protected from the sun by arbors which will turn green in summer, lead one to imagine a serene conviviality. In Smarakand also, the friendly exchanges over the wall, with the houses abutting the synagogue, confirm the image of friendly understanding conveyed also by the merchants in the bazaar; they approach you easily, the Uzbek, the gypsy, the Tatar, and the Jew, and speak the same tongue in attending to the customer, and particularly the same language. The intellectual and political concerns of Jews we met were not those of Soviet Europe, and many were not even aware of that abortive monster to the east, Birobidzhan.

#### Old Woman's House

The Liabi-Khaouz in Bukhara is a peaceful place built around a small lake. The men sitting on the porch of the Chaikhanna (teahouse) will show you, between chess games, "the 100-year-old tree," or "the high stork nest." Rouslam-the-Sovkhozian revealed that "the storks have not come for 2 years." Would his friends forgive him for having told such a secret? Perhaps it was to make up for his error that he took the vodka out of his jacket and served in in teacups.

This is what Bukhara is like; in respect to Islam, women pass with their eyes lowered in front of the Chaikhanna; the name of atheism, the men bring along

their small bottles, but yet will be amazed that you have only two children in 10 years of marriage: "It is like the trees, you plant them, and later they give you shelter."

Rouslam has 12 children, grown to adults now, and living far away. The shaykh who built the Liabi-Khaouz had to expropriate the house of an old Jewish woman, whom he compensated with a house in an alley of low whitewashed houses, the streets of the Jews. All the houses are alike; heavy doors painted blue, unbroken walls, and behind them a bustling life.

All the houses are alike, except for one, which is decorated with some discreet moldings, a consideration by the shaykh to the widow for the expropriation. This house is today the Bukhara synagogue.

On Sunday, the street is almost empty, but if you chance to go by an open doorway you will be aware of intense activity; in one house there is a surprising sight; a lamb's carcass hung by the hind feet from the door frame. On the table, an old scales helps in dividing the meat up equally among three families. A grandmother, with red hair and eyebrows joined by a thick black stripe in Tadzhik fashion, sheds an unmistakable air of authority over this hive of activity; the butcher obeys the signals of finger and eye, and gives the impression of having no knowledge of his trade outside the orders of the "babushka." The children, with their Tadzhik first names, contribute with their games and tears to the music of the scene. This is a Biblical tradition, which survives to the letter here. Someone later reminded me of the verses (Exodus, XII-4 and XII-7) calling for sharing of the Paschal lamb among neighbors, "the lamb to be divided to each according to his consumption," and "the blood will be taken to stain the doorsteps of the houses."

The sheep had been bought in the market, from a kolkhoz friend, at 7 rubles per kg., or about Fr65, but the hide was committed at sale to the state tanneries.

These are the preparations for the Seder, to which a stranger passing through the town is cordially invited. In Bukhara, they hide the matzoh; as in the Maghreb, turn the basket above the heads; and read the Haggadah in Hebrew and in Tadzhik. However, the matzoh is made at home in the tandour (earth oven), and the wine is bought from a friend who makes it himself. In the courtyard, a few fowl join without anxiety in this hymn of joy; the happiness of some is the misfortune of others.

Zionism here? It will sometimes bring a smile from these peaceful and uncomplicated people, who maneuver expertly in the shadow of the planned economy and central management. Alsiher-Eliahu says condescendingly: "They work too hard there." However, Zionism does have some pull: Eretz Israel, gathering of the families, and...the "Bukhara" quarter of Jerusalem all have their influence.

There was a considerable exodus 5 years ago, but today it is more difficult. Refuseniks? Certainly. Even if they lose their jobs, they can still find countless opportunities in the thronging cities to evade the clumsy claws of the Russian bear. Here, they buy animals from the kolkhozes which are then



resold to friends; there, they run a hardly concealed taxi service. Someone in Samarkand told me: "I may wait a long time, but I live better this way than I did when I was a shoemaker." Is it the warmth of the East that explains why in Uzbekistan even the excluded are not completely "refuseniks"?

#### Jewish Population in Islamic USSR

##### Muslim Caucasus

Azerbaijan: 35,000 (0.5 percent of total population)

Daghestan: 7,000 Tatars (Jews and Muslims) (estimate)

##### Central Asia

Uzbekistan: 100,000 (0.6 percent)

Tajikistan: 15,000 (0.4 percent)

(1979 Soviet census)

#### Details of Social Practices

Paris L'ARCHE in French Jul 82 p 74

[Article by Esther Benbassa-Dudonney: "Jeans in the Land of Djinnns"]

[Text] "Come and join us in our Passover meal; there will be 40 guests." This was what the Jewish mother in Tashkent said to us as she awaited the "shochet."

Little houses made of clay, a synagogue door with oriental decoration, the country within the city, color: That is Chakalova Street, or the Tadzhik Jewish community....

A car stops: a clear sign of wealth and above all of patience in a country where one waits philosophically—even if Jewish—to obtain the plaything in absence of the Messiah. The eternal pair, mother and son, get out of the car as in the good old days in our faded Orient.

The worshipped mother struts about with the son-king. And the Soviet revolution? The dictatorship of the proletariat? Well, here it is the dictatorship of the mother-queen. Tradition requires: you do not trifle with principles.

In the trunk of the car a dozen nervous turkeys are awaiting their demise.... They are not alone, others in shopping bags and even baby carriages share their greeting. Unheard-of development, the "shochet" has not arrived. Is he taking

a siesta? Tomorrow, all will have to return to the "via dolorosa." The musician son recites, in Turkish learned during his stay in Azerbaijan, the passages of the Haggadah in Tadzhik. On this Pesach eve, thoughts are more on the celebrations. In Tashkent, in Chalakova Street, the Tadzhik Jews of Sephardic rite recount to other Sephardic Jews their customs and traditions, and all this in snatches of Turkish, Russian, and Hebrew, with gestures and a welcoming look. What a depth of meaning. Is there really any need to speak? Emotion is enough, an entire past unites us through text and memory. The Moslem strollers mix with the gay blades. These groups of Jews accompanied by their turkeys and chickens do not surprise anyone. In the country of "A Thousand and One Nights" anything is possible. The smile, the warm greeting, and the relative laxity of regulations surprise the visitor, particularly after a visit to Kiev, which is dominated by the atmosphere of the failed revolution. In Central Asia, the damages from third-degree bureaucracy are less evident than elsewhere. Victory of life over sclerosis? Perhaps, but in any case the surprise is not like the remembrance by an old war veteran--pardon me, old revolutionary.

At Gaspitalni Bazaar there is an Ashkenazi synagogue. The community leaders are dominated by suspicion and fear. What a contrast to the Tadzhik Jews? Why?

During World War II, the Ashkenazi Jews of the area occupied by the Germans took refuge in Tashkent; their behavior still bears the marks of the war. Two groups of Jews, two different attitudes. The man in charge of matzohs is making them with evident pleasure in the courtyard of the synagogue. A young Jew from Samarkand stands out in this Ashkenazi crowd. He resembles the Yeshiva students one meets in the streets of Jerusalem. His only oriental aspect is his sallow complexion; otherwise he has quickly adapted to Ashkenazi customs.

We Jews are well-known for ability to assimilate. One sole concession to modernity is his liking for European chewing gum.

In Garbonova there is another synagogue, of Sephardic rite. Women in colorful costumes, scarves around their heads, are patiently waiting in the courtyard for the kosher meat. The only thing which ties the past to the present is the telephone, in this case red. Placed on one of the steps of the synagogue, it adds an exotic touch.

As soon as you pass through the entrance you are immediately enveloped in a Jewish microcosm: mikveh-butchery, kosher chapel, and above all the atmosphere of festival eve.

Mixed marriages? Certainly not. At the outside, with the Russians: the colonists, but never with the Muslim Tadzhiks. Heaven forbid. Marry the "barbarians"? Israel: a subject which is approached with great caution. Emigration is not a major goal. Here, one doesn't work too hard; in Israel it is rough; but, they say, one day we will go to die in the land of our ancestors. That day will be a bit late. Nevertheless, tradition does continue

to rule the Jewish universe at all levels of daily life, with more or less intensity depending on age and social status. Don't believe it; equality is in the writings, and yet,....

What about relations with the Muslim neighbors? They have coffee together.... Nothing more. From Tashkent to Samarkand by way of Bukhara you see the same sight. Women making the unleavened bread in their homes, the old people secretly teaching Hebrew to the youngest. A little girl reciting "Ine ma tov." People manage. They have to conform to the Soviet "system D." However, the USSR stops at the doorstep. On our departure, the rabbi-shochet asks: "Do you have any jeans to sell"?

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